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ABSTRACT

This paper discusses human values as significant determinants of individual and social behavior. Major objectives of the discussion are to impress upon the planner the behavioral significance of values and to explore some methods of operationally and functionally incorporating values research into an ongoing planning program. (Author)

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(Paper No. 111)

HUMAN VALUES AS PLANNING POLICY DETERMINANTS

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HUMAN VALUES AS PLANNING POLICY DETERMINANTS

It is argued that urban planning and the totality of human behavior are generically related, and that an analysis of what actually determines the way in which individuals or groups of people respond to certain stimuli (social, cultural, physical) should lead to an improved ability to predict or foresee behavioral responses, and to utilize more effectively those control measures which might serve to guide behavior toward the achievement of publicly desired ends.

Any discussion of what influences human beings to behave in certain ways must include detailed consideration of "human values". This paper is devoted to the discussion of human values as significant determinants of individual and social behavior. A major objective of this discussion is to impress upon the planner the behavioral significance of values, and also to explore some methods of operationally and functionally incorporating values research into an on-going planning program.

In order to maintain continuity with a behavioral approach to urban planning, it is necessary to describe where human values fit with reference to a general behavioral framework. Specifically, values are an integral part of the motivational process in human behavior. Motivation is an <u>intervening</u> variable in the behavioral sequence--and serves, together with other integrally related intervening variables (sensory processes, perception and memory, problem-solving, learning and reasoning) to causally link the <u>independent</u> variables to the <u>dependent</u> variable--behavior.[1] (Refer to Figure 1).

Motivation is a complex process and consists of many sub-elements. It is the value or value-orientation element in this process with which this paper concerns itself. Bernard Berelson and Gary Steiner say that:

> a motive is an inner state that energizes, activates, or moves (hence motivation) and which directs or channels behavior toward goals--a motive results in, and can be inferred from, purposive means--ends behavior.[2]

Moving further toward a workable and behaviorally satisfactory understanding of value, Parsons and Shils state:

> Values or value-orientations may be defined as those aspects of motivation referable to standards, personal or cultural, that do not arise solely out of immediate tensions or immediate situations. The value component in motivation is a factor both in the instigation to act, and in <u>setting the direction of the act</u> (emphasis added).[3]

Therefore, the necessity to consider the role which human values play as crucial inputs to the making of planning decisions is justified adequately by reference to the central position human values occupy in the determination of,

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and choice between, alternative paths of behavior.[4]

Along the same lines, and included primarily for purposes of terminological clarification is the definition of values postulated by Philip E. Jacob and James J. Flink:

> . . . . values are the normative standards by which human beings are influenced in their choice among the alternative courses of action which they perceive . . . . human action is shown to be governed by sets of normative elements (values) which are distinguishable within the motivational patterns of human behavior, from the satisfaction of physiological drives.[5]

The concept of value as interpreted in the terms of scholars from various disciplines has many connotations. Value is a technical term in philosophy, economics, the arts, sociology, psychology and anthropology. Indeed, there can hardly be said to exist an established consensus in any one of these fields; values are alternatively equated with such things as attitudes, motivations, objects, measurable quantities, substantive areas of behavior, etc.[6] The term's complexity might best be pointed out in a statement made by Kurt H. Wolff, a sociologist, in which he argues that the multiplicity of meanings for "value" has resulted in much confusion:

> The history of the term "value", and its occurrence in various contexts remains to be written. As far as I know, the term originally meant 'exchange value'. . . But the referents of the work have multiplied far beyond this clearly demarcated usage--conviction, norm, principle, standard, criterion, preference, rationalization, goal, aim, end, purpose, taste, things important, not indifferent, desired, desirable are surely not all of them.[7]

Although much more evidence of conflicting arguments on the nature of 'value' might be here cited, for the most part, the distinctions made between fact and value, between the 'desired' and the 'desirable' are primarily on a highly abstract and philosophic plane which in numerous cases are reducible to semantic differentiations. It remains the task of this paper to show the importance of human values as highly significant factors in the determination of planning policies.

The importance of a thorough study of the nature of human values to the field of policy research (relationship between values and governmental decisions) derives most significantly from the role such values play in the determination of behavior:

> . . . only in a motivational sense (as a behavioral force acting to shape goals) does the concept of values have significant uniformity of application to human behavior to become an operationally significant tool for policy research. . . . policy research must take fully into account the empirical findings of psychological research in human behavior and make its peace with

the main theoretical conclusions derived from these findings.[8]

In fact, Jacobs and Flink attempt to utilize the general framework of psychological "field theory" as developed by Kurt Lewin and others,[9] to clarify the various factors and the complex inter-relationships among them which appear to influence policy decisions. The central concept of field theory is that of "life space", "psychological field", or "total situation". The "life space" refers to:

> . . . the manifold of coexisting facts which determine the behavior of an individual at a certain moment. Behavior, in other words, is a function of life space: B=f (LS). The life space is in turn a product of the interaction between the person (P) and his environment (E). In symbolic expression, B=f (LS)=f(PE).[10]

The life space is viewed as the "behavioral field of decision" and the various isolable components of this field are seen as determinants of decision or vectors which bear on an individual's choice of action. Values are examined as one of these vectors.

F. Stuart Chapin, first in 1957[11] (Urban Land Use Planning, first edition), later in 1962 (Urban Growth Dynamics), and most recently in his second edition of Urban Land Use Planning, has explicitly recognized the rationality behind causally relating land planning and development to human behavior. Chapin has done this primarily through the utilization of the value concept (individual and group values) in its role as a determinant of behavior, and ultimately, of land use.

Mr. Chapin's approach is based on the rationale that value systems stimulate certain human actions or behavior patterns which ultimately result in actual urban development configurations. He feels that the land use planner must "develop some understanding of the values that set behavior cycles into operation, for in the final analysis, the success of his efforts is dependent upon how closely his land use planning proposals harmonize with group and mass values in the community."[12] He goes further to suggest three areas which need much research attention:

> . . . (1) the identification of mass and group values so that they may be taken into account in planning proposals, (2) the determination of behavior patterns which are important to the social well-being and mental health of urban residents and (3) the translation of these values and behavior patterns into physical criteria so that the design of the land use plan can be made sensitive to these aspects of urban life.[13]

To conclude this description of Chapin's contribution to the development of a behavioral approach to urban planning, two figures, taken directly from Urban Land Use Planning (1965), are included in the text because of their extreme clarity in graphically depicting the behavioral concepts involved. (Figures 2 and 3).

It should be recognized that in this approach, group and especially mass values take precedence over individual values as prime determiners of land patterns. Chapin is aware that difficulties in identifying and measuring these values are significant. The difficulties encountered in value identification and measurement are being reduced through the development and use of new techniques and research methods. It is this phase of values research that the planner should be most interested in as it forms the bridge that translates abstract conceptions of human wants and needs into empirically quantifiable, (but not necessarily objective) units--rank orderings of preference, for example--capable of translation into physical design components.

So far it has been reasoned that: values are important determinants of human behavior; values exist as elements in the motivational process; research into the development of planning policy should proceed from a base consistent with the generally verified principles of human behavior as derived from psychological theory; and that there is, at least in the sub-element of land-use planning, precedent for development of an approach to planning conceptually rooted in the casual relationship between values, human behavior and land use patterns. At this point we turn to the more operational aspect of values research--value measurement.

Identification and Measurement of Human Values

Historically the method used for determination of community value structure was a simple one--relatively unsophisticated--but fairly effective in the short run. Melvin Webber describes that system:

> Normally, the identification of values is accomplished through reliance on the value hypotheses of politicians and their professional staff assistants. By and large, this has worked well in the short run because sensitive politicians and informed professionals are able to make reasonably good judgment about the current preferences of the various publics and about the actions that would satisfy them.[14]

Webber points out that long run value predictability is extremely difficult and fraught with uncertainties. He feels that since a large part of the future is both unknown and unknowable in addition to being uncontrollable, local governments face problems of partially controllable futures, unidentified constituent wants and the unconquerable complexity of action consequences and the full maze of value implications of what they do. The need for development of objective and predictive value scales is critical.

Development of a generalized framework of values is necessary in order to guide choices between alternative courses of action. These values are significant forces in the determination of planning policies. The emphasis accorded planning "policy" in this paper, as opposed to the detailed technical operations comprising the planning process, is due to the fact that the policy level in any decision-making system is generally the highest level of direction-setting, and thus most effectively influences all actions throughout the system. For the purpose of this discussion, policy will be defined as an integrated program of

actions (a governing principle or plan) undertaken (by an individual; group of individuals; agency or organization) in response to a given problem or situation.

Carol Posner suggests that an approach to planning which is: (1) purposive (concerned with the relationship between means and ends over time), (2) responsible to a client, (3) procedural rather than substantive, and (4) concerned with choices between alternatives, must depend heavily upon the formulation and identification of values.[15] Since an approach to urban planning which is based upon an understanding of how planning is integrally related with individual and group behavior does definitely possess these four characteristics, it follows that values research in such an approach is extremely important.

Although to the scholar, the pitfalls associated with the identification of human values are painfully evident, words of caution to the planner-practitioner who wishes to utilize a value-oriented approach are very much in order. Some of the more important problems might best be stated in the form of a series of questions:

(1) For any given value--assuming it is identifiable--how widely is that value held? What is its spread and distribution among client groups?[16]

(2) How does one account for the planner's bias in the interpretation of results, the construction of questions, the method of analysis, etc.? How does the planner, even though he may possess singular knowledge of client value structure, act as a responsible agent and not limit choice arbitrarily?

(3) What is the intensity of a particular value? Techniques of measurement are not sharply developed in this area. This relates to the strength of a given value in an individual or in a group--its level of substitutability. Measurement scales have to relate to overt behavior to determine this. Overt behavior is not always indicative of true motivation.[17]

(4) Do value statements correlate with instances of overt behavior? Can we establish whether or not people really hold the attitudes and beliefs they supposedly possess as indicated by research?

(5) Can the relative validity of one value as opposed to another be established? If so, by use of what criteria?

(6) Can the existence of values be empirically verified? There exist two differing schools of thought on this issue. This question refers basically to the long-standing value-fact dichotomy.

(7) Where does the planner look for a reliable source of value statements, from individuals, from examples of group behavior, from the power structure, from certain occupational or social groups, etc.?

(8) There are definitive limitations on man's capacity to be aware of the total range of value positions or alternatives--how does this affect the

planner's ability to objectively define a suitable choice range?

(9) Which method or combination of methods serve(s) to most satisfactorily identify the values of the population the planner is dealing with? What are the time, cost and utility factors associated with each value measurement technique?

Melvin Webber appears to articulate very succinctly a key problem in developing a fairly stable value framework:

> Among the various sub-publics within a given urban population, there is a wide diversity of interests, life styles, and values. The preference of any one group may be in direct conflict with those of other groups; indeed, the diverse values held by members of any given group may also be internally incompatible. Hence, governmental programs that might satisfy one group within the community might harm another; or if they satisfy some wants of a given group, they may simultaneously deprive the same group of others of its wants.
>
> This value pluralism makes the planning of governmental services an extremely complex undertaking since democratic governments are obligated to foster the welfare of all members of the community.[18]

Keeping the above mentioned limitations in mind, the following are some multidisciplinary techniques and methods which are used both individually and in combination, for the purpose of developing some approximation of the values characteristic of an individual, a small group, a neighborhood, of even a whole society. As always, the utility of the results varies directly with the researcher's ability to understand the capabilities of one technique versus another, the relative time and cost involved for each method, the most accurate type of sample to use, the relative weights to assign to separate parts of a survey, to account for interviewer and other biases, etc. It is in this technical aspect of values research that the planner needs qualified professional assistance from competent social scientists.

Methods of Value Measurement

(1) Polling techniques and attitudinal surveys. These methods are used to a large degree by sociologists, anthropologists, psychologists, political scientists, economists, and others to ascertain what a specific group of people want or like, what goals they profess. Generally, questionnaires are developed in order to elicit answers which reflect preference on the part of persons surveyed.

(2) Analysis of choice situations. This involves numerous types of studies. Many social scientists claim that the study of choice situations is the key to understanding what values are all about. Numerous experiments have been conducted to investigate the choices people make among alternatives in gambling, decision-making and other similar situations.

Exercise of choice among alternatives indicates that individuals have preferences and behave in accordance with them. This in turn implies that individuals have preference scales or patterns. Therefore, an analysis of situations in which individuals must choose among alternatives will reveal some indication of their value systems. With this knowledge, in addition to a few assumptions, it becomes possible to predict how a human being will behave under certain conditions.

(3) Psychoanalytic diagnoses and personality studies. Techniques utilized here have been developed by psychiatrists, psychoanalysts, psychologists and social psychologists. They include oral and written tests and depth interviews, among others. Examples of testing methods would include mention of the Allport-Vernon test of values, certain projective testing methods--Roscharch. Personality studies such as the famous work by William Adorno, The Authoritarian Personality, are extremely valuable and reveal certain predictable patterns of behavior based upon a specific value structure.

(4) Content analysis. Group values are investigated on the basis of mass media content. Analytic studies of literature, news media, and television programs attempt to determine by quantitative analyses of content, the values and intensities of values of various groups. Problems arise in determining the extent to which the values reflected represent those held by the audience or by the producer of the communication himself.

(5) Budget studies. These studies refer to two major units of measurement—time and money. The manner in which each unit is used or allocated to a specific activity gives some indication of how much that activity is valued in relation to all other activities. Although some of the overall constraints in human time allocation and expenditure patterns are obvious (monetary limitations, relatively constant amount of time needed to be allocated to survival activities, etc.) an analysis of how these commodities are distributed among competing interests moves a long way toward identification of value patterns.

(6) Anthropological surveys. Studies which explore through the use of questionnaires, the "value system" of given cultural groups. Very similar to attitudinal surveys, anthropological studies employ in-depth interview techniques together with participant observer analyses. Under this general heading might be included studies of the existing social and economic institutions of any society. Certain "institutions" (widely prevalent patterns of action controlling to a large degree individual conduct) such as the family, the language, educational system, religion, culture, recreational activities, military traditions, etc., reflect sets of values, beliefs and ideas common to an area. However, values in transition are difficult to detect from such an appraisal.

(7) Client analysis. Client analysis is a method of examining existing governmental programs and determining what various goal (or value) positions are represented by different population groupings affected by the program.

> This would be accomplished through an accounting of the number and frequencies of types of behavior exhibited by people directly involved in the program (satisfaction, dissatisfaction, rejection, etc.). This technique can be used for program evaluation as well as value identification and measurement.[19]

Just knowing the values of various populations is not enough--measurement of the intensity of desiring related to a value is necessary to determine the relative importance or substitution value of each particular value. The application of objective indices of measurement in the above-mentioned studies is critical to the determination of value priorities--or which values are coveted more than others.

The following eight "indices of valuing" are most commonly used in attempts to record the intensity of a held value:[20]

A. Temporal indices of valuing

(1) giving time
(2) giving energy or effort

B. Spatial indices of valuing

(3) giving space
(4) giving material

C. Populational indices of valuing

(5) giving self sacrifice (physiological or psychological)
(6) giving "in-group" sacrifices

D. Symbolic indices of valuing

(7) feeling (strongly, not so strongly, indifferent, not at all)
(8) money

Through the development of objective criteria for each of these indices, it is possible to determine how strongly a value is held in relation to other identified values. The utility of such indices and measurement criteria to the urban planner is evident. The use of more precise scientific methods in the identification and measurement of values should assist the planner immeasurably in his task of directing the future course of urban physical and social development.

Emphasis on Group Values

These techniques are, to date, the primary means at the disposal of social scientists for the purpose of identifying existing value structures in either society or in the individual. However, as was mentioned before, the more important determinations to be assessed by the planning function in a democratic society are those directly concerned with groups of people or various publics--

aggregations and generalizations of individual value structures.

C. W. Churchman reflects the importance of dealing with the values of social groups in chapter twelve of his book, Prediction and Optimal Decision: Philosophical Issues of a Science of Values. The opening statement reads:

> An assertion that each of us might deny but all of us would accept is that the values of social groups are much more important than those of any individual in the group. Collectively we demonstrate our acceptance of this assertion by our common concern for the welfare of the people, the nation, the firm, the church, the university. Of course we do study the values of persons; consumer preferences, psychoanalysis and personality studies attest to an interest in the part of the researcher in individual values. But our chief concerns are with those values which we recognize to be the values of the many groups to which we belong. Most of us who are interested in value research cannot help but feel that the significant "payoff" lies in a better understanding of the social values. . . although it is fascinating to determine how to maximize the profits of a firm, or the take-home pay of the members of a union, these problems seem to be of minor importance compared to the problem of developing atomic energy in a way that best serves the interests of our nation or our world.[21]

The urban planning function as an integral aspect of local government processes is by virtue of its position, publicly responsive and publicly responsible to the community as a whole. In American society, values of the consensus (nationally, regionally or locally) reflect democratic ideals--this is a political reality. Such consensus forms the framework of national, regional or local policy on a whole range of issues (from civil rights to economic development).

Social Institutions as Group Value Determinants

The values of the "consensus" or majority are most closely related to the primary social institutions in our society. "Social institution" refers to any mode of action, way of thinking, procedure, observance, or convention which is more or less common to the members of the social group. Patterns of action that stereotype institutions are generally enforced by sanctions including folk practices, social rules, laws, etc.[22] Bowen states:

> Institutions are the molds within which individual conduct is shaped. They are controls over the actions of the individual in almost every department of his life.[23]

Since the preponderance of individual behavior is controlled or guided by social institutions, the values reflected in these institutions should represent the key bases upon which the development of governmental (planning) policy is founded. Bowen explains the reasons why such social control over individual behavior leads to the greater attainment of individual ends, on the whole, than would otherwise be possible:

(1) attainment of many individual ends requires the coordinated efforts of many individuals, the success of which cannot be achieved unless the actions of the various cooperating individuals are guided according to predetermined and definite rules,

(2) if individual actions were not controlled according to established and well-recognized patterns, each individual would find himself completely uncertain regarding the likely future behavior of other persons, and hence, would lack a secure basis for planning his own actions,

(3) without socially imposed controls, there would be no workable arrangement for reconciling the incompatible interests of different individuals, or when such control is not possible for presenting actual physical combat among rivals and,

(4) without social control the individual could not always be counted upon to act rationally even with reference to his own ends, particularly in those cases where the ends are attainable only in the distant future.[24]

Social institutions are important means to the achievement of individual goals. Heinz Euleau supports the use of institutions in the analysis of values and behavior when he states:

> Institutional arrangements, norms, functions express behavioral patterns that have been stabilized through the passage of time. In turn, current behavior is necessarily circumscribed and directed by the past patterns we call institutions.[25]

Development of Value Hierarchies

In the context of limited resources, time and other constraints on any government's ability to provide universal satisfaction in all areas of activity, the necessity for that responsible body to develop priorities in relation to values that should be satisfied is obvious. In order to bring the development of a value hierarchy to a more uncomplicated level of analysis, it is necessary to break down or classify the various values into manageable subclasses.

In view of the importance of social institutions as value determinants, it would seem that the most appropriate basis for sub-classifying values, as Stuart C. Dodd suggests, is social institutions.[26] Dodd develops a rationale for a theory of values which combines variables of population, desiring, values, time, space and related conditions into a formula which tends to predict future behavior. He feels that the institutional basis for value subclassification is the most inclusive method in terms of predicting man's future behavior.

The major institutions of culture identified as appropriate value subclassification are: (1) domestic (2) scholastic (3) economic (4) political

(5) religious (6) philanthropic (7) hygenic (8) recreational (9) artistic (10) scientific (11) linguistic (12) military.

Bowen combines this list of social institutions into eight: (1) familial (2) language (3) educational (4) religious (5) aesthetic expression and appreciation (6) recreational (7) military (8) economic.[27]

At any rate, such a system would enable polls and surveys that were given to representative samples of people in different cultures to classify responses institutionally and be cooperative with alternate classifications.

The basic purpose for developing a value hierarchy is to provide a framework in which the identified values might be ordered, and in the context of which, priorities among goals and criteria might be established.[28] Such a framework would enable the urban planning function to rationally allocate available resources among validly competing interests. Dodd states that the more universal classes of value are of chief interest and should have priority in research. This means we must study values that are most:

(1) permanent or universal in time;
(2) ubiquitous or universal in space;
(3) popular or universal among people of every class and culture;
(4) inclusive or universal to all parts of a culture or system of values and
(5) intensely or strongly desired.[29]

The above five points represent criteria against which a hierarchy of values could be formulated (most universal to least universal, etc.). The ultimate objective of value determination is the operational translation of values into meaningful planning policies. This translation must be further accomplished into consistent and mutually supporting goals, objectives, standards and finally into action programs. Robert C. Young has developed a procedure for setting goals and consistently specifying these goals using measurable objectives and appropriate standards.[30] Young has actually translated this procedure into an excellent statement of Connecticut's state planning goals.[31]

Davidoff and Reiner suggest the role of value hierarchies to planners:

> Planning analysis of an entire value system would lead to portrayal of value hierarchies. It is by study of such structures and by defining the levels therein that it is possible to identify, reduce, or even eliminate the inconsistencies in pursuit of a system of goals. With knowledge of the hierarchy the planner can better pinpoint specific means.[32]

The five criteria discussed by Dodd could be used to develop a hierarchy of values within a community to which the planner is responsible. Since it is one of the main postulates of Dodd's theory of values that if the six what he calls "predicter" classes of variables (population, desiring, values, time, space and related conditions), can be effectively subclassified and measured, combined by multiplication in a formula so that behavior is their mathematical

product, then it is possible to predict the future behavior of a specific population within probability limits if the classes of variables are operationally defined indices with specified units and origins observed in that population.[33]

The ultimate goal for policy-making purposes would be to develop a comprehensive and hierarchically ordered value structure for a society, community, subculture that--using certain mathematical techniques--could forecast, within certain probability limits, the future behavior of a population. Future research into behavioral predictability using a value framework as the base would shed even more light on to the possible development of a "science of values".

Integration of Values Research in the Comprehensive Planning Process

It must be recognized that central to the development of any theory of urban planning based upon the principles of human behavior is the operational integration of values research into the comprehensive planning process. The importance of value formation to the planning process is expressed well in the following statement:

> The evaluation of community values is a very complicated issue. It is quite clear that it is fundamental to the whole planning process. It is the one factor that makes planning quite different from many other professional tasks. Until better techniques are developed to measure these values and resolve them, it will be difficult to develop plans which will have public acceptance and understanding. Although this task is a difficult one, it is nevertheless essential if we are to prepare plans which may be successfully implemented in a democratic society.[34]

The comprehensive planning process is composed of a number of phases--all integrated and interdependent--to which value formulation relates directly. These phases are shown in Figure No. 4.

Value formulation should begin at Phase I, be the basis of the development of Phase II, and be translated into specific proposals in Phase III, be the basis against which the plan is evaluated in Phase IV and be consistently represented in the programs used to satisfy the values that the plan furthers (Phase V). As values change, priorities reorder themselves and society advances, the continuing planning function should feed back into the process at the appropriate points and restructure and re-evaluate.

A well defined program of values research should be a continuing element in the comprehensive planning process. Carol Posner has developed the basis for such a program.[35] She states:

> Planners have attempted to increase the rationality of their profession by a concern with the relationship of goals to proposals. This concern must be applied to the area of value formulation itself. A partial basis for the goals formulated will necessarily be the values of the client, and developing rational techniques for eliciting, organizing, and ranking these values

must be given consideration.[36]

Conclusion

The importance of human values to the conscious and rational formulation of public developmental policies is unchallenged. This relationship is a critically significant one. Its significance emanates from the fact that human values are prime determinants of human behavior--each man has a value hierarchy, a scale of values, which he consciously and unconsciously follows as a guide or framework for ordering his behavior.

The all-important or overriding issue that the urban planner and the policy-maker must be critically aware of is the fact that the ability to manipulate values may well be the control which enables the manipulation of people. The moral and ethical repercussions of such power are limitless. Ija N. Korner states the case while discussing the responsibilities of the psychologist in this matter:

> It affects the very basis of the democratic concepts of society to tamper with these "things" (values). It is possible that we do not want to know although Madison Avenue is breathing down our necks and other interested groups are concerned with this magic fountain of controlling human behavior. If for no other reason but the feeling of social responsibility the psychologist is impelled to bring data, knowledge and reason to which can be compared to the atomic energy of individual and social living. . . .[37]

The urban planner and other social scientists are consistently being forced into a role of advising on policy. This responsibility weighs heavily in light of the possible consequences identified above. The observance of democratic norms must be balanced against the potential moral issue of behavioral manipulation. Gunnar Myrdal states:

> If we (social scientists) are faced with the task of advising on policy, a value premise has to be chosen and inserted. This value premise is extra-scientific; it does not emerge from the analysis itself. When the value premise is chosen and identified it will, in combination with the analysis of the facts, permit rational policy decisions. These conclusions are rational because they are in this sense hypothetical. They only spell out the logical policy implications of the selected value premise in a known context of reality.[38]

Perhaps it is not proper to say that we are able to measure or precisely delineate values through the use of certain techniques or methods. This would be the same as saying that there is a "science of values", or a "science of human behavior", or in essence, that man has the ability to fully predict and fully control the entirety of a human being's existence. Although distinguished scholars such as C. W. Churchman and John Dewey have subscribed to the belief that human values can be scientifically measured and empirically verified, many

accept the view that fact and value are definitely separable and that normative, subjective standards are impossible to objectively quantify or measure. Many scientific breakthroughs in the areas of genetic research, psychiatric and psychoanalytic techniques and personality studies are distinct strides in the direction of increasing the predictability of man's behavior. The day may not be too far into the future when we as human beings, and doubly as professionals in the field of urban planning, will have to face the realities of man's scientific genius. These realities will be the knowledge and ability to completely prognosticate, and therefore to completely control the development and behavior of all human beings.

Drs. Carl R. Rogers and B. F. Skinner, two eminent psychologists, have written an article concerning science's growing ability to predict and control human behavior and the moral and ethical issues related to this phenomenon.[39]

They recognize that the dangers inherent in the control of human behavior are very real, that the possibility of misuse of scientific knowledge must always be faced--but they also say we cannot escape by denying the power of a science of behavior or arresting its development. Skinner feels that what is needed is a new conception of human behavior which is compatible with all the implications of a scientific analysis--all men control and are controlled.

Dr. Rogers says that among psychologists, there are four basic points of agreement on the issue of controlling behavior:

(1) men have always endeavored to understand, predict, influence and control human behavior--their own behavior and that of others;

(2) the behavioral sciences are making and will continue to make increasingly rapid progress in the understanding of behavior, and that as a consequence the capacity to predict and control behavior is developing with equal rapidity;

(3) to deny these advances, or to claim man's behavior cannot be a field of science, is unrealistic and

(4) the potential power of a science which permits the prediction and control of behavior may be misused and the possibility of such misuse constitutes a serious threat.[40]

Rogers goes on to identify those points or issues about which disagreement or differences exist. He identifies these briefly in the form of questions: Who will be controlled? Who will exercise control? What type of control will be exercised? Toward what end or what purpose, or in the pursuit of what value, will control be exercised?

The last question is the most critical. It sharply focuses itself on the centrality of the value formulation process--a process generally misused and misunderstood in comprehensive planning today. Rogers takes the position that

science has its meaning as the objective pursuit of a purpose which has been subjectively chosen by a person or persons. Consequently, any discussion of the control of human beings by the behavioral sciences must first and most deeply concern itself with the subjectively chosen purposes which such an application of science is intended to implement.[41] Science can't come into being without a personal choice of the values we wish to achieve. And those values we choose to implement will forever be outside of the science that implements them; the goals we select, the purposes we wish to follow, must always be outside of the science which achieves them.[42] These are reassuring words and ones that give us the proper and most clarifying prospective from which to study values.

Human Values and Planning Policy in a Democratic Society

Planning for the realization of human values is a goal, if not the major goal, of the urban planning profession. The planning function as a legitimate activity of government is responsible, in the United States, to the will of the majority. This mandate presents problems of no inconsequential scale to policy-makers and professional urban specialists who must serve the society while protecting the individual, and insure freedom of choice while engineering responsible change. Jefferson B. Fordham, Dean of the University of Pennsylvania Law School, feels planning and community development can respond sensitively to basic human values. He states:

> I am concerned with being rather down to earth about the heed we give in planning to basic values in a democratic society. The ultimate unit in society is the individual, and it is with him I associate the highest value. As an organized society, we can provide conditions designed to enable the individual to develop and to find his own best expression.[43]

The urban planner, responsible to the policy-making body in a government has certain professional responsibilities to observe or principles to guide him in attempting to do the job he has to do while still maintaining the philosophy engendered by a democratic society. Kenneth Benne has developed some "democratic norms" to insure that the planning of change remains in consonance with the values of a democratic society. These norms might be also applied as professional responsibilities for urban planning. Benne says:

> In a social setting where social conflicts tend to take a collective form, where changes are inherent in the situation, where planning has become a social necessity, the norms of democracy will acquire directive power and clear meaning only as they are seen to be required elements in a methodology of planned social change, of social engineering.[44]

Benne goes further to actually state principles which will help to insure the centrality of democratic values in the process of planned change. These principles might well be professionally adopted by the American Institute of Planners. They follow:[45]

(1) The engineering of changes and the meeting of pressures on a group or organization toward change must be collaborative (collaboration between competing action interests in a situation requiring change).

(2) The engineering of change must be educational for the participants . . . . planning is most intelligent when it accomplishes a maximum induction from the unique contributions of all individual participants.

(3) The engineering of change must be experimental. Planned arrangements must be seen by those who make them as arrangements to be tested in use and to be modified in terms of their human effects when tried.

(4) The engineering of change must be task oriented; that is, controlled by the requirements of the problem confronted and its effective solution, rather than oriented to the maintenance or extension of the prestige or power of those who originate contributions.

(5) The engineering of change must be anti-individualistic, yet provide for the establishment of appropriate areas or privacy and for the development of persons as creative units of influence in our society.

Planning practice that involves the above named principles will maintain those values inherent in a democratic society. However, the planner must maintain an objective role in the determination of urban development policies. He does not make the final decision transforming values into policy commitments, but he should identify the distribution of values among people and how values are weighed against each other.[46]

In light of the above established role and responsibilities of the planner with respect to the value formulation aspect of the planning process, the following points are suggested to further define areas of professional concern.

(1) The planning profession has a primary responsibility with respect to maintenance of plan flexibility. Freedom of choice, identification of legitimate alternatives are critical to the furtherance of avowed democratic norms. McNeil, in discussing Nagel's philosophy, says that Nagel feels that freedom of the human will constitute another heavy burden for the social sciences. He suggests that social scientific laws must be calculated to include the possibility of human change in order to be workable. Man's will is always tempered by a number of accidents in the execution of his desires. Since man is without total mastery over his society he cannot predict caprice, whim or accident and he must modify his plans accordingly.[47] However, we must never abuse the gift of man's adaptability

through experimentation on the environment without good purposes.

(2) The planner must look at action consequences of planned processes from the standpoint of their potential value implications, in addition to the traditional factors of cost and efficiency.

(3) The planner must direct more meaningful research and efforts toward the construction of sophisticated value profiles and hierarchies. These profiles should be detailed by subpopulations, life styles, geographic subunits, etc. Gunnar Myrdal suggests the development of a value measurement process using what he terms "power coefficients"--he contends this method would get at the value structure of different groups. He goes on to say:

> If we learn the actual power coefficients of the different value premises--dependent, among other factors, upon the weight of the groups which hold the corresponding valuations--and if the value premises are really worked into our analysis, as they should be, we should be able to present as a result of our research what I have once called an abstract 'war game', a sociological equivalent of the drawing board strategy before the battle. We should be able to form opinions both about the policies different groups should rationally attempt to pursue (taking into account their own valuation and all other pertinent facts in society) and about the probable outcome of the social process (taking into account the power coefficients). Programs and prognoses may in this way be logically correlated; because the programs are founded upon estimates of what would happen (unless different policies and prognoses take into account the effect of the different policies employed in the programs).[48]

(4) The planner must be careful not to generalize the results of attitude or opinion surveys which measure individual preferences to meaningful conclusions about group or social preferences.

(5) The planner must make more concerted efforts along the lines of translating identifiable community values into specific action programs. It is particularly necessary in planning reports for the professional to state or indicate which values or goals are the planner's and which are the communities' or client's.

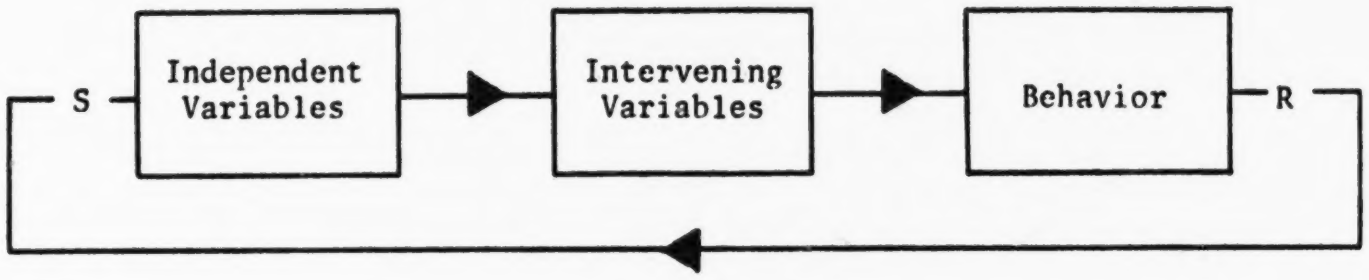
In order to achieve the development of responsibilities along the lines suggested above it will be necessary to institute a continuing values research

program as an element in all comprehensive planning programs. To accomplish this, a closer relationship with the social and behavioral scientists and their technologies is necessary. George and Eunice Greer develop some recommendations on this point. They feel that human needs (values) could be much closer aligned with the public policy decision-making process if: 1) a handbook were compiled that developed specifications for the design of human communities based on the best current behavioral science knowledge, 2) systematic experimentation and observation in actual housing situations were scientifically implemented and 3) a closer working relationship between behavioral scientists and those who make planning decisions were fostered--this could include a program of internships for behavioral scientists in planning and development agencies.[49]

The planner's responsibility is clear. Within the overall matrix of human behavior and all the complexities associated with its understanding, the urban planning profession's role and commitment to the process of value formulation is immense and unchallenged. Much has yet to be attempted. A paper written by Stanley J. Hallet, and presented as part of the 1966 AIP Conference, "Optimum Environment with Man as the Measure" says it well:

> It is obvious that if human values, norms and beliefs make a difference in shaping social structure, political processes, economic development, technology, and even land use patterns, then those factors which influence values and beliefs--including economic conditions, social roles, the family, religion and ethics--are significant for dealing with problems of urban development. That this perspective emerged only recently helps to explain why a history of modern city planning which relates the growth of city planning to developments in social theory, value systems, religious institutions, meaningful beliefs, and the power structure conflicts with American cities has yet to be written.[50]

Figure 1



Generalized Model of the Behavior Process

Footnotes

[1]Berelson, Bernard and Gary A. Steiner, Human Behavior: An Inventory of Scientific Findings, New York: Harcourt, Brace and World, Inc., 1964, p. 240.

[2]Ibid.

[3]Parsons, Talcott and Edward A. Shils. (eds.) Toward a General Theory of Action. Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1951, p. 425.

[4]Parsons and Shils explain in detail how both elements of an actor's orientation to a situation (motivational and valuational), in conjunction, serve to select among alternative paths of behavior, one chosen path.

[5]Jacob, Philip E. and James J. Flink. "Values and Their Function in Decision-Making: Toward an Operational Definition for Use in Public Affairs Research". American Behavioral Scientist. Volume V, May 1962, No. 9, Supplement, p. 10.

[6]Parsons and Shils, op. cit., pp. 389-390.

[7]Wolff, Kurt H. "On the Significance of Hanah Arendt's The Human Condition for Sociology" Inquiry, Vol. 4, 1961, pp. 94-95.

[8]Jacob and Flink, op. cit.

[9]Lewin's concept of field theory may be reviewed in F. V. Smith's Explanation of Human Behavior, London: Constable and Company Limited, 1960 and in Morton Deutsch, Field Theory in Social Psychology-Vol. I (Cambridge: Addison-Wesley, 1954), pp. 181-222.

[10]Ibid., p. 189.

[11]As Chapin himself recognizes extensively in his text, a true intellectual debt for the original conceptions of this behavioral-science orientation to land-use planning is due to Walter Firey, who in his Land Use In Central Boston (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1947), first developed a theoretical framework to identify the role of values in the evolution of land patterns. Firey developed the "principle of proportionality" as a means of giving proper recognition to the role of values in the allocation of space to functional uses in the city.

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[13]Ibid., p. 36.

[14]Webber, Melvin. "The Prospects for Policies Planning" in: The Urban Condition, ed. by L. J. Duhl, New York; Basic Books, Inc., 1963, pp. 320-21.

[15]Posner, Carol. "Values Research in Planning" Planning Comment, Volume I, Winter 1962-63, pp. 19-20.

[16]Davidoff, Paul and Thomas Reiner, "A Choice Theory of Planning" in: Journal of the American Institute of Planners. Vol. 28, No. 2 (May 1962) p. 109.

[17]Ibid.

[18]Reiner, Janet S., Everett Reimer and Thomas A. Reiner. "Client Analysis and the Planning of Public Programs" in: Journal of the American Institute of Planners, Vol. 20, No. 4, (November 1963).

[19]Webber, Melvin, op. cit., p. 322.

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[22]Bowen, Howard R. Toward Social Economy. New York: Rinehart and Company, Inc., April 1948, p. 16.

[23]Ibid., p. 16.

[24]Ibid., p. 21.

[25]Euleau, Heinz. The Behavioral Persuasion in Politics, N. Y.: Random House, 1963, p. 18.

[26]Dodd, op. cit., p. 646.

[27]Bowen, op. cit., pp. 19-20.

[28]Posner, op. cit., p. 26.

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[32]Davidoff and Reiner. "A Choice Theory of Planning" in the Journal of the American Institute of Planners, Vol. 28, No. 2, (May 1962), p. 110.

[33]Dodd, op. cit., p. 647.

[34]Voorhees, Alan M. "Techniques for Determining Community Values" in: Highway Research Record (No. 102), 1965, p. 18.

[35]Posner, op. cit., pp. 1-28.

[36]Posner, op. cit., p. 28.

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[40]Ibid., p. 129.

[41] Ibid., p. 133.

[42] Ibid., p. 136.

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